DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 033 435 EA 002 394

AUTHOR	Thomas, Thomas C.
TITLE	Educational Policy for the Inner City. Draft.
INSTITUTION	Stanford Research Inst., Menlo Park, Calif. Educational Policy Research Center.
Spons Agency	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Report No	RN-EPRC-6747-5; SRI-P-6747
Bureau No	BR-7-1013
Pub Date	Nov 67
Contract	OEC-1-7-071013-4274
Note	44p.; Draft paper first presented with Progress Report during pilot phase of EPRC.
EDRS Price	EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.30
Descriptors	Conceptual Schemes, Curriculum Design, Educational Facilities, Educational Objectives, Educational Opportunities, *Educational Policy, *Educational Programs, *Educational Research, Effective Teaching, Employment Opportunities, Evaluation Criteria, Family Environment, Federal Programs, *Inner City, School Personnel, Student Teacher Ratio, Teaching Techniques, *Urban Education
Identifiers	ESEA Title I

Abstract

Most of the important educational issues for the country are represented in problems of urban education. This report concentrates on one of the practical issues for the urban education policy maker--education policy for the poor minority child who lives in the inner city. It concerns educational policy for the inner city over the next 10 years. The results of policy research on this issue should give policy makers a broad perspective on the issue and offer a wide variety of programs from which to select. Major findings are summarized under three main headings: (1) educational policy research, (2) urban education policy, and (3) urban education research. These headings are a first step toward effective dissemination. The body of the report contains detailed discussion of these points, organized in the framework developed for the internal task of policy research. (Author/DE)

STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE
MENLO PARK, CALIFORNIA

SRI Project 6747 November 1967

Educational Policy Research Center

Research Note

EPRC 6747-5

ED033435

EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR THE INNER CITY

by

THOMAS C. THOMAS

Prepared for:

BUREAU OF RESEARCH
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

CONTRACT OEC-1-7-071013-4274

This Research Note was first presented as a draft paper within a Progress Report to the U.S. Office of Education prepared during the pilot phase of the Educational Policy Research Center. It does not constitute an official report of the Center. It is a record of research in progress for which the author retains responsibility. It may be altered, expanded, or withdrawn at any time.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

EA 002 394

DRAFT

POLICY RESEARCH REPORT

A Policy Research Report is an official document of the Educational Policy Research Center. It presents results of work directed toward specific research objectives. The report is a comprehensive treatment of the objectives, scope, methodology, data, analyses, and conclusions, and presents the background, practical significance, and technical information required for a complete and full understanding of the research activity. The report is designed to be directly useful to educational policy makers.

RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

A Research Memorandum is a working paper that presents the results of work in progress. The purpose of the Research Memorandum is to invite comment on research in progress. It is a comprehensive treatment of a single research area or of a facet of a research area within a larger field of study. The Memorandum presents the background, objectives, scope, summary, and conclusions, as well as method and approach, in a condensed form. Since it presents views and conclusions drawn during the progress of research activity, it may be expanded or modified in the light of further research.

RESEARCH NOTE

A Research Note is a working paper that presents the results of study related to a single phase or factor of a research problem. It also may present preliminary exploration of an educational policy issue or an interim report which may later appear as a larger study. The purpose of the Research Note is to instigate discussion and criticism. It presents the concepts, findings, and/or conclusions of the author. It may be altered, expanded, or withdrawn at any time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I INTRODUCTION 1

Time Perspective 1
Scope 2
Dissemination 2

II SUMMARY 4

Conclusions for Educational Policy Research 4
Conclusions for Urban Education Policy 5
Conclusions for Urban Education Research 6

III STRUCTURE FOR THE POLICY RESEARCH 8

IV GOALS AND EFFECTIVENESS CRITERIA 12

Goals 12
Effectiveness Criteria 14
Stakeholders 16

V DIMENSIONS AND PROGRAMS 21

Family Environment 22
Teacher Effectiveness 26
Teaching Techniques and Curriculum 30
Quantity of Staff and Physical Resources 33
Employment and Higher Education Opportunities 36
Relationship to Society 38

I INTRODUCTION

Most of the important educational issues for the country are represented in problems of urban education. Some of these issues are immediate and practical, such as how to provide money for operating the school system next year. Others are long-run and abstract, such as how can education aid citizens in the search for the "good life."

This report concentrates on one of the practical issues for the urban education policy maker--educational policy for the poor minority child who lives in the inner city.

Time Perspective

The time frame of this analysis is intermediate, which is to say as short a period as appears practical for policy research. It includes analyses which could support changes in operating policy at the Federal and State level within two to four years and "solutions" in four to ten years.* Two years is estimated as the minimum period necessary to go from policy research to a change in policy; that is, to conduct original research, disseminate the information, convert conclusions into program recommendations, and effect changes in Federal or State laws. (The time period may be shortened somewhat when new research is not essential, as when expert testimony on programs being evaluated is provided to legislative bodies. However, expert testimony is not in itself policy research though it is presumably based upon prior research.)

The upper bound of ten years for a "solution" was set to indicate the importance of the particular environment in which the issue arises. The analysis must take explicit account of both long-run societal trends which underlie the issue, and the specific circumstances of the issue today, tomorrow, and next year. For example, a study of minority rights must deal with a basic long-term trend in our society. However, specific issues

---

* The timing for changes in policy on research funding and obtaining research results would be perhaps one to three years shorter.

of minority rights, such as immigrants' rights or women's rights or Negro's rights, would be described very differently in 1915-1925 than in 1954-1964.

The type of policy research discussed in this paper has a short life. If policy makers do not use the research within several years, it will need to be redone and updated. It is the usability for policy makers which will determine the quality of this type of policy research. Thus, the first question had to be what kinds of information best support policy makers in program planning and policy determination for the short-term future.

Scope

Policy makers need both a broad perspective and a variety of programs. A broad perspective gives a framework within which to relate a specific issue to general goals and needs of the society. A variety of programs provide alternative means by which to achieve goals or meet needs.

To provide only a framework for viewing an issue but no programs for dealing with it may make the policy maker wiser but leave the issue unsolved. To offer programs without a framework within which to compare them may foster actions at odds with each other and with general goals. Only the combination of a broad prospective on the issue and a variety of programs is effective support for the policy maker.*

Dissemination

Perhaps as crucial as what is provided is how it is provided. Support for policy makers cannot be based upon dissemination by printed word. Face-to-face contact is needed. Among the techniques under consideration are dissemination through planning seminars or educational policy games. They provide for a two way interchange in information which is mandatory for the support of both policy makers and policy researchers. Through this interaction, policy makers can provide the realities and policy researchers the analyses. Printed reports would provide backup and be used to reach those members of the country's diffuse policy-making structure that cannot be contacted directly.

---

* Program support is conceived of mainly as design criteria for the programs. The specific content of program would usually be developed by the policy maker's staff or other agencies.

Informal dissemination also will be crucial. To be useful, policy research must affect program planning. However, the yearly period for developing program plans in Federal and State offices is not, in general, the time for structured meetings. The Policy Research Center will have to compete for the policy makers' attention against a myriad of other claims on his time. The policy maker can use the assistance of policy researchers in his programming effort only if this help is tailored realistically to the needs of the programming system and the particular year. This close cooperation is best handled on an informal basis.

II SUMMARY

This report concerns educational policy for the inner city over the next ten years. This issue was selected as typical of the immediate and practical educational issues to which educational policy research will be directed. The results of policy research on this issue will be designed to help policy makers develop a broad perspective on the issue and a wide variety of programs from which to select.

Major findings from our policy-research on inner city education are given below. The findings appear under three main headings--Educational Policy Research, Urban Education Policy, and Urban Education Research. These headings are a first step towards an organization for dissemination. The body of the report contains detailed discussion of these points organized in the framework developed for the internal task of policy research.

Conclusions for Educational Policy Research

1. Effective policy research on intermediate-time issues should provide policy makers with both a perspective in which to place the issues and design criteria for alternative programs to meet the requirements.

2. Dissemination should focus upon face-to-face exchanges. Printed material should act primarily as a supplement and extend the direct dissemination. The Educational Policy Research Center should explicitly recognize the needs of Federal and state personnel during their program planning cycles and provide input matched to these needs.

3. Policy research should consider both the effectiveness of a program in achieving specified criteria, and the impact of the program upon individuals with stakes in the policy's effects. A "stakeholder" analysis is needed to support the policy maker by estimating (1) his ability to effectively implement a policy and (2) the operating characteristics of the policy once implemented.

Conclusions for Urban Education Policy

1. Present definitions of goals are inadequate. Most emphasis is on instrumental rather than basic goals and on improvement per se rather than criterion levels to be reached. This results in an inadequate perspective for the creation of balanced policy.

2. Focusing resources on the home as a means for correcting educational deficiencies of minority children has a high cost-effectiveness potential which is largely unexploited.

3. Teacher effectiveness and minority group needs are not well matched. Better selection, recruiting, and development of teachers is obvious but nevertheless essential. Serious study should be given to developing intensively trained and highly select teams to work in critical schools.

4. Effective personnel development practices are a precondition for the success of school-sponsored programs. Initiating such practices will require major changes, particularly in teacher-administrator relationships which often tend to derogate rather than develop the teacher.

5. Incentives to the educational "industry" to create comprehensive programs keyed to the modal characteristics of minority groups may be needed to offset their low profit potential. Within these programs, flexibility to handle individual difference should be even further emphasized. Many of the parts of such a program are either available or nearing completion. At present, however, the creation of interlocking and reinforcing programs for the minority students is left to the teacher. This operation is beyond the capability of the average teacher without increased assistance.

6. Without other changes (i.e., points 3, 4, and 5), further reductions in class size and increases in special services represent alternatives with low cost effectiveness.

7. Major short-term benefits can be achieved if the school directs its attention to achieving increases in the employment and higher education opportunities of minority graduates. These opportunities are the conventional rewards for "going to school." The school may need to redefine both its educational and financial obligations to students and cooperate more effectively with other public and private institutions in search of better opportunities for minority pupils. Effective operation of such programs would increase the value of rewards perceived as available from education and provide greater extrinsic motivation for academic achievement.

8. The prospects for eventual minimization of racial correlates of poverty are fair. For the society, the absolute economic position of those of lowest socio-economic status will continue to increase. It is also likely that their relative economic position will improve. However, major improvement in the other attributes of poverty (such as powerlessness, low social honor, lack of mobility) is doubtful.

9. Policy makers should explicitly examine the impact upon all the "stakeholders" of a change in educational policy. This will tend to create policy decisions that are more responsive to broad segments of the society and minimize the occurrences of unexpected and undesired reactions.

Conclusions for Urban Education Research

1. Research projects must provide more information on the characteristic of the student and school staff populations involved in the research if the projects are to be most useful. While the hypotheses to be tested may be confined to a narrow area, the description of the environment should be broad or the results shown to be independent of the environment.

2. The similarities in characteristics of minority groups is often emphasized and the range of variation in characteristics minimized. This can lead to the impression that one type of program

is good for all minority children, e.g., special efforts to develop reading readiness because "all Negroes are deficient in reading." Better categories for describing intra-minority group variation are needed.

3. Research on programs which provide for greater educational development and motivation for the child in the home should be initiated.

4. Research on programs to develop teachers and increase their effectiveness should be initiated.

5. Research on new organizational arrangements and administrative techniques for school systems should be undertaken.

6. Techniques should be developed for analyzing stakeholders regarding their goals and needs and estimating the impact of educational programs on stakeholders' goals and needs.

III STRUCTURE FOR THE POLICY RESEARCH

In studying education in the inner city, one is both helped and hindered by the volume of literature related to this issue. Although some of the relevant literature is specifically in the educational field, much of it is not. For example, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, and management development are all producing material which is relevant.

Due to the diversity in academic training of contributors to the literature and the members of the group that conducted the analysis, a common framework within which to communicate had to be developed. Figure 1 presents a generalized picture of the framework that evolved and which will be given concrete significance in the remainder of the report. The outer rim of the matrix in Figure 1--the goals of the society and the dimensions of the issue--makes up the content from which the broad perspectives will be drawn. The inner rim and body of the matrix relate programs to effectiveness criteria.

Programs are portrayed in Figure 1 as generally related to several dimensions of the issue. Program x is related to dimensions A, B, C, and D and program y is related to dimensions A, C, and D. The dotted line from dimension B to program y indicates that program y has indirect relation to dimension B.

The effectiveness criteria are derived from the goals of the society for education. Each goal may have a number of effectiveness criteria; some goals may share effectiveness criteria, such as goals II and III share criterion 6.

Figure 2 provides a similar structure for studying research results. The principal difference is that the research programs k, l, and m are focussed upon cause and effect relationships in a single dimension. Research is generally designed to determine the cause and effect relationships in the experiments that are being conducted. In Figure 2, research programs k and l are shown as directly related only to dimension A and research program m only to dimension B.

Figure 1

STRUCTURE FOR POLICY ANALYSIS

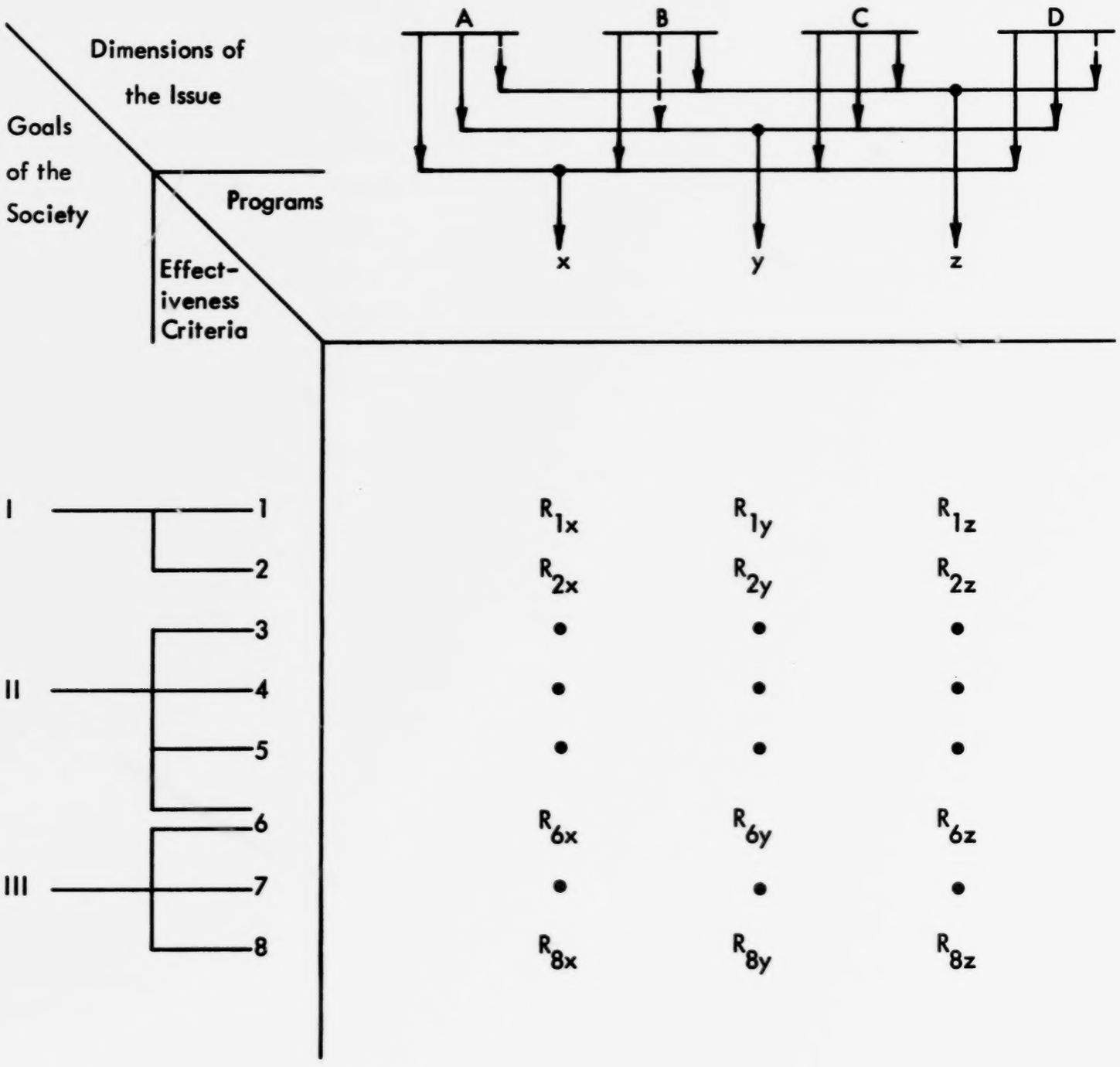
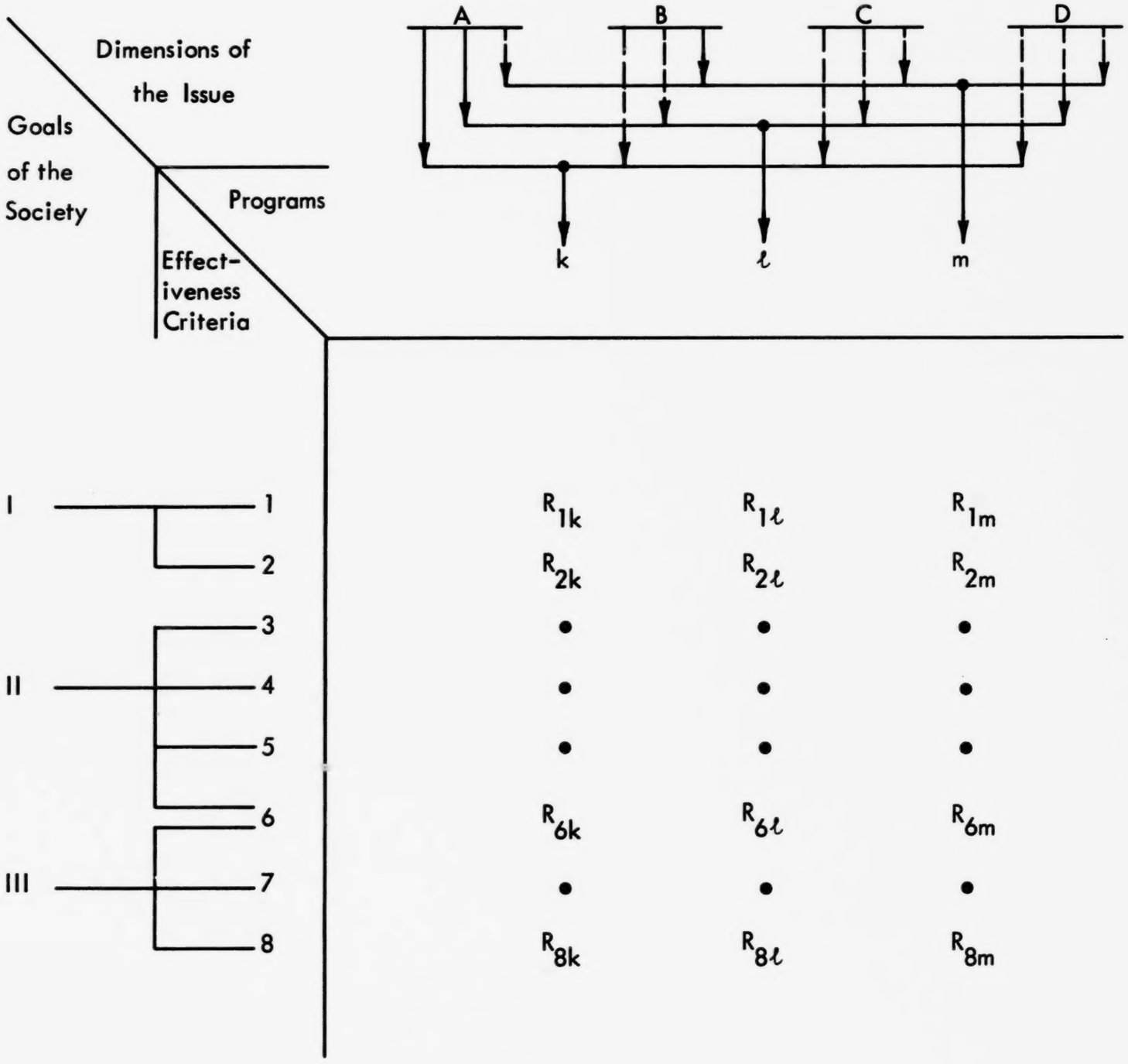


Figure 2

STRUCTURE FOR RESEARCH



The similarity between Figures 1 and 2 is important. All the dimensions, goals, and effectiveness criteria are present in both figures. Research program k may operate directly only in dimension A of the issue, but it must describe its relationship to dimensions B, C, and D and all the effectiveness criteria derived from goals I, II, and III. For example, a research project may concern the differential effect of two curricula upon student performance. However, this would not justify omitting critical information, such as teacher characteristics, from the description of the experiment. Thus, if six teachers volunteered to teach the experimental curriculum and six others were randomly chosen to teach the control curriculum, more information than simply teachers' age and sex is required if the results of the experiment are to be meaningful for education policy research. In the example given, the motivations underlying "volunteering" and the attitudes of those randomly chosen and conscripted would undoubtedly be essential to interpretation of findings. Throughout our analysis, we found that published results often did not specify the contextual framework, thus causing major problems in describing various programs and specifying their effects.

IV GOALS AND EFFECTIVENESS CRITERIA

This section attempts to face basic issues in the definition of goals and effectiveness criteria for educational policy. Various lists of goals, effectiveness criteria, and other reference material have generally been retained in EPRC files. The "list" should be a result of an understanding of the issue and its relation to policy; otherwise, its many items will not add up to a useful whole.

Goals

Society's goals for education are both broad and numerous. Rather than debating the proper goals for education, we have defined a limited set of goals derived from our interpretation of why education in the inner city is an issue. If certain goals are reached, the issue as it is presently understood will disappear or at least be transformed into a different issue. It is this subset of total educational goals that will be used to define the basic goals in each analysis of an issue.

The aspect of inner city education which is most critical is the low skill level and high unemployment rate among its former students from minority groups. Therefore, the "issue related goals" of society for minority education are defined as:

1. Reduction in Unemployment Rate by elimination of effects of social origin on the availability of employment to youths who complete their secondary education.
2. Upgrade Occupational Levels by elimination of the effects of social origin on a youth's ability to obtain post secondary education.

These two goals are not the only goals for minority education, but they cover the core issues in inner city education which must be met to

settle the issue as it now exists.* These societal goals for education can be compared with a typical statement of an instrumental goal related to the process of education.

1. Increase Academic Achievement by elimination of the effects of social origin on a youth academic achievement in language arts, mathematics, and other subject areas.

Increased academic achievement is an important instrumental goal for the achievement of the two societal goals.† Increased academic achievement will provide some benefit to minorities in both employment and in their ability to obtain higher education. However, it is not at all obvious that even if schools managed to substantially increase the reading test score averages of minority students in senior high school that there would be an appreciable effect upon either their rate of unemployment or the percentage who enter higher education. If other factors (e.g., job discrimination, information on jobs, lack of access to job market, lack of financial support for higher education) stayed the same they would severely limit the impact of changes in academic achievement. (An important problem, bypassed for the moment, is how goals are perceived by minority youths themselves, for example, probably few of the youths would consider good grades in themselves as a reward worth a great expenditure of effort.)

The point in contrasting the "issues" goals and an instrumented goal is not that the schools should necessarily take responsibility for finding their graduates' employment or placing and supporting them in college or other post-secondary schools. Policy makers may select either basic or instrumental goals in defining the effectiveness criteria against which to judge programs. Nevertheless, distinctions between basic and instrumental

---

* An implicit goal for any issue is always that for any specific level of achievement of the other goals be accomplished with a minimum expenditure of resources (goal of economic efficiency).

† There can easily be several levels of instrumental goals. For example, elements of the Negro community want minority community control of local schools as an instrumental goal in the achievement of increased academic achievement.

goals are important. If the instrumental goal of academic achievement is assumed to be the basic goal, then even if highly effective, low cost, opportunities for urban schools to reduce unemployment among minority youths were available, they could be unnoticed.

Mistaking instrumental goals for basic goals is common, particularly if the basic goals are numerous and vague. Defining the goals for education in the inner city as (1) reduction in unemployment and (2) upgrading occupational level is a first step in specifying limited number of societal goals which have sufficient breadth to put the evaluation of educational programs in the inner city in a useful perspective. Given the perspective of basic goals, then instrumental goals (related to the process rather than to the ends of education) can be kept properly subordinate.

Effectiveness Criteria

When goals are transformed into effectiveness (and cost) criteria, they are described in terms of observable phenomena. Progress toward the goals can then be measured by the change in the effectiveness criteria based on the goals. However, in the definition of effectiveness criteria, further perspective is useful for the policy maker.

The statement of a goal tends to be quite general and often provides only a description of a desired direction. The goal--to eliminate the effect of social origin on academic achievement--gives a clear picture of the direction to go. It is much less precise on how far one must go; that is, what would constitute the elimination of the effects of social origin on academic achievement? It is difficult to answer such a question before defining the effectiveness criteria, but it should be answered then. Thus, if reading scores on standardized tests are adopted as the effectiveness criteria, then the magnitude of the desired change in the reading scores should be clearly defined. If the distance to the goal--that is, the amount of change required--is not specified, several problems can arise.

Many programs may increase students' reading scores. If the objective is only defined as an increase in reading scores, then programs should be selected which provide large initial increments in reading achievement per dollar of cost. However, these programs may not be able

to carry the student all the way to the desired goal of a specific level of reading achievements or they may become prohibitively expensive as the goal is approached. The ultimate cost of alternate programs may be much less even though they have a lower initial effectiveness per dollar spent. This distinction is not simply academic. High initial effectiveness per dollar but inability to reach the full goal is a characteristic of many programs that treat symptoms. Lower initial effectiveness per dollar, but higher overall effectiveness per dollar is a characteristic of many programs that treat causes. Failure to define both direction and magnitude may be a major factor resulting in the existence of educational programs which treat symptoms rather than causes.

A full definition of the effectiveness criteria also requires a careful definition of the groups whose achievement one seeks to modify. To illustrate this point, consider the following correlates of academic achievement:

1. race,
2. income level of parents,
3. educational level of parents,
4. aspirations of parent for child, and
5. region of the country.

Is the goal to achieve parity in mean reading achievement of (1) Negro and Caucasian pupils? (2) pupils from high and low economic groups? (3) children of college graduates and high school drop-outs? (4) children of parents with high and low aspirations? (5) pupils from all regions of the country?

These questions concern the identity of the specific target. Whether the factors noted above have any causal relation to academic achievement or are merely correlated with other factors influencing academic achievement need not be faced. If these factors are not themselves completely intercorrelated (and they are not), then different types and levels of program would be required to reduce the correlation between academic achievement and each of the five factors.

The main criterion for selecting schools to receive funds under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (PL 89-10) is an economic one. Therefore, this act can be expected to have its main effect on a reduction in the correlation between the income level of parents and academic performance of pupils (though changes in other correlations can also be expected). This act will not reduce the correlation of race to academic achievement as rapidly as would another act which limited the use of funds solely to minority children. The choice of groups to which to apply the criteria can make a difference in ones view of the program and should not be hidden in the development of goals and effectiveness criteria.

Stakeholders

The goals and effectiveness criteria define the desired results of programs of education in the inner city. However, if the rows of the policy analysis matrix in Figure 1 are viewed as describing all the major effects of programs, the list is not complete. Few, if any, programs for education in the inner city will be singular and discrete; that is, without other effects than those directly relating to educational criteria. The noneducational effects may be very important for certain groups within the society. The noneducational effects seldom will be more important to the society than the educational effects in an absolute sense, but given alternate programs for achieving approximately the same educational goals, expected noneducational effects can be the deciding factor in program choice.

The concept of a "stakeholder," borrowed from SRI's work in corporate planning, may be useful in this regard. A stakeholder is any individual or group who has a stake in, that is, will be affected by, the outcome of a particular decision. Every group within the society is a potential stakeholder depending upon the issue. Educational decisions intended to affect the skills, attitudes, or values which students acquire in formal education make stakeholders of nearly everyone for the decisions affect the future of society. Conversely, decisions concerning minor technical matters create few stakeholders outside the formal educational structure.

A stakeholder has more than an abstract general interest in the decision. The essence of the concept of stakeholder is that the decision affects him, concretely and specifically. Thus, the definition of stakeholder groups and their positions needs to be based upon well-defined programs rather than abstract goals. Consider, for example, the broad goal of "quality education" transformed into a specific program to "put a paraprofessional in every classroom." Stakeholders on this program would include at least:

1. school administrators,
2. teachers,
3. teachers' organizations,
4. parents,
5. taxpayer committees,
6. civil rights organizations,
7. community action organizations, and
8. parent teacher associations.

The above groups would be interested in many questions directly related to the program's effect upon quality education. For example:

- How will the program effect the child's reading achievement?
- What effect will the program have upon individualized instruction?
- How much will it cost?
- What other programs are being sacrificed to introduce this program?

These stakeholders will also ask other questions peripheral to quality education but central to other goals they hold. For example:

- What are the employment opportunities for minorities in the paraprofessional program?
- Who is directing the program and how much community involvement will there be?

- How will the program effect the professional status of the teacher?
- Will the addition of paraprofessionals be used as an excuse to increase class size?

Despite the desires or good intentions of an educational policy maker, the benefits of instituting a paraprofessional program will not be evaluated by society on educational criteria alone. Unfortunately, these other noneducational goals which are affected by educational programs have seldom been systematically incorporated in analyses of educational policy. Educational research generally ignores the stakeholders in assessing the effects of a program unless the research was focused on a primarily stakeholder-oriented issue such as a school bond election.

Policy makers have always been concerned with stakeholders, but principally from a political focus. Stakeholder needs are evaluated in proportion to the power of stakeholder to support or obstruct the program. Under these circumstances, their effect tends to be on the manner in which the program is "packaged for sale" rather than on program decisions per se.

The SRI center staff feels that a basic task of policy research should be the systematic explication of program effects upon both educational and noneducational needs of the society. This is not to say that education policy makers should accept every stakeholder's goals as his own goal. Even if the policy maker wished to do this, it would be impossible since individual stakeholders often entertain mutually conflicting goals. What is necessary to improve policy making is for the policy maker to acquire a broad perspective regarding the effects of his programs upon the society. Analyses which are concerned with only direct educational goals do not provide a broad enough perspective for many decisions.

A stakeholder analysis may be both a useful input to policy research as well as an output from it. A list of those stakeholders in society that will support a policy and those that will be antagonistic to it can provide considerable insight into how the policy will probably operate in practice as contrasted to the formal statement of its method of operation.

There are three separate facets of a stakeholder analysis:

1) the goals and needs of stakeholders

2) the impact of programs on these goals and needs

3) prediction of actions by stakeholders with respect to a program.

A stakeholder analysis covering all three of these facets in depth appears to be unnecessary to support educational policy research planning seminars but cursory analyses could be both enlightening and provocative.

Consider, for example, stakeholder analysis of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The national organization and its local chapters share the same formal goals. They also hold in common typical organizational goals of increased membership, ability to focus power, and so forth. These goals create needs for environmental support. At a sufficiently general level, the goals and needs can be established through analyses of the written material released by the AFT, the speeches and actions of its key leaders, and contact through interviews and surveys with its leaders and members. However, as an organization evolves and the environment changes, the relative importance of the general goals and needs also will change. Specific points will achieve crucial importance for a period of time, either nationally or locally, and then diminish or disappear.

The minimum lead time for policy research may limit a center's formal analysis of an organizations goals and needs to little more than a projected national or regional "average." At present, this level of analysis appears satisfactory for policy research although it may need to be supplemented by "maximum and minimum" estimates to suggest the extent of possible variation. In practice, however, an operating center with close ties to its audiences--as described in the task on Organizational Design--will be in touch with the major stakeholders in educational policy and thus maintain informally a sense of trends in their current goals and needs.

Analyses of the impact of programs on goals and needs would have a formal and informal component similar to that suggested above. At the formal level, analysis would be of the impact on the "national average"

goals and needs. Analysis would be both through formal contact with the stakeholder and informal involvement by center personnel. This two-pronged approach would be particularly necessary in evaluating programs which may be new to the stakeholder. On these programs, the EPRC may obtain only superficial impressions of stakeholders. Further study by the stakeholder could easily alter his initial position, but such study would normally be undertaken only if the stakeholder viewed the program as a concrete possibility in the near future. Exclusive reliance upon informal contact could seriously affect the objectivity and reliability of a stakeholder analysis.

During the pilot phase just completed, the goals and needs of stakeholders and the probable impact of a limited set of programs has been analyzed by the staff from available printed material. Preliminary design criteria for surveys/interviews with stakeholders have been developed. Developing instruments for stakeholder analyses is a major subtask for the operating center and would be generalized to support policy research on any intermediate time issue.

The third facet of a stakeholder analysis--the prediction of actions by stakeholder with respect to a program--is not appropriate for policy research even though it would draw upon the first two facets which are. The first two facets would be analyzed within the intermediate time framework of 2-10 years to support the development of (1) a broad perspective on an issue and (2) description of the effects of possible programs. The specific reactions of stakeholders will be highly conditioned by (1) the circumstances of the moment, (2) the manner in which the policy maker seeks to implement the program, and (3) the probable intermediate-run impact of the program. Forecast of specific reactions would add little to policy research per se and could be highly divisive in the Center's relations to its various audiences.

V DIMENSIONS AND PROGRAMS

Education in the inner city has been divided into six dimensions for analysis. These dimensions appear to provide both sufficient discrimination in crucial aspects of the issue and broad coverage. This list is provisional, adding new dimensions or splitting old ones would not be unexpected as the analysis progresses. However, a proliferation of new dimensions will be avoided for the dimensions serve an organizing function. The six dimensions are:

- Family environment
- Teacher effectiveness
- Teaching techniques and curriculum
- Quantity of staff and physical resources
- Employment and higher education opportunities
- Relationship to society

Within each dimension, material has been organized for presentation into one or more of seven categories. The first three categories provide information primarily related to perspective and the last four categories provide information primarily related to programs. The categories are:

1. general effect of the dimension in education,
2. nature of the problems,
3. general requirements for a solution,
4. operating programs,
5. new programs,
6. potential for improvement, and
7. barriers to programs.

The presentation of the material is narrative in style. A detailed discussion of each of seven categories for all six dimensions has not been attempted. Each dimension is discussed without subheadings, though the categories appear in the margin to indicate approximate area of coverage.

The summary nature of the material precludes the use of references to the specific books, research reports, articles, and draft material from which it is drawn. Moreover, the purpose of the presentation is not to persuade but rather to portray our present position.

In the first five of the six dimensions, emphasis has been placed upon programs in which elementary and secondary educational institutions in the inner city would be either the local initiator or a participator in the program. This emphasis is not meant to imply that the Center considers schools to be sole, or even the principal, "educator" in the inner city. It simply reflects our belief that for the period from 2 to 10 years in the future, government will continue to act through the institutional arrangements which currently exist or ones roughly similar to them.

Family Environment

General Effects

The theory and empirical evidence on the effects of family environment upon children's educational development is comprehensive and cumulative over many years. It contains extensive evidence on the importance of family's social relationships on the direction and kind of individual development. Within this general framework, a body of literature has recently grown up on the specific learning disabilities which occur in the family environments of impoverished minorities compared to middle class environments. Although this body of literature is important and useful, only in a few large-scale statistical studies dealing with such aggregate measures as family income and parental education versus academic achievement is an adequate frame of reference provided. For example, many authors discourse on the "poor language model" that is found in Negro homes. However, it is difficult to ascertain whether they think they have found (1) a condition which is primarily related to low socio-economic status, (2) a condition which derives from particular characteristics of the Negro subculture, or (3) simply a large number of Negro

Nature of the Problems

families who are both poor and provide a poor language model for their children without imputing "causes."

Requirements for a Solution

The Educational Policy Research Center (EPRC) working paper by Judith Spellman entitled "Child Development Within the Culture of the Urban Ghetto" draws a picture of what is presently known of the effect of ghetto culture upon educational development of the child. Unfortunately, when the task passes from description to development of approaches to improve the family environment--that is programs to modify or eliminate the disability at its source--there is little or no material to suggest the most effective starting point. Some formal educational programs in our society specifically involve the family but they are generally very low-keyed and their effects poorly researched.

Operating Programs

The principal programs by schools have centered on parent participation in such areas as prekindergarten, counseling, or occasional special educational programs. In theory, these programs provide the parents with information on educational techniques and objectives and motivate them to support the school in the education of the children. California data indicate that ESEA Title I programs that have emphasized parent involvement tend to be among the more successful compensatory education programs. However, the research and evaluation designs from which these data come usually lack controls; the entire effect of parent participation may be a function of self-selection.

Clinical studies provide interesting data on the successes of therapy approaches which treat the entire family system rather than the individual child. The implications of this work for educational programs appear considerable.

New Programs

Present programs do little more than indicate the need for further program development. A variety of developments are possible, such as programs to provide minority families with specific information on the school and its relationship to education, techniques to foster the educational development of the child, and an array of educational materials designed for use in the family environment (e.g., paperback books, records). However, a prime requirement must be sophisticated research and evaluation designs so that the first generation of programs point the way to improvements in the second generation. At present, even answers to such obvious questions as, "If families are given specially designed, high-interest, reading material, will they read it, burn it, lose it, or just ignore it?" are not known. Other questions, not yet answered, ask "How will parents respond to suggestions that their children be spoken to in whole sentences? How important would this one change be? If parents spoke (or could speak) to children in whole sentences, what other changes would follow as a consequence?"

Of equal or greater importance than the content of such a program would be the nature of the contacts established between the outside educational agency and the family. Indirect approaches, rather than direct contact, would appear the most appropriate. However, with the exception of a few obvious "don'ts," there is little information to guide the design of such programs for minority families. Carefully conducted studies of the communication problems in any such undertaking would be of benefit to both educational (and a host of other) programs.

Potential for Improvement

The family environment is a critical factor in the educational progress of the child. It provides many of the early learning tools, much of the motivation for

educational achievement, helps shape his occupational (and hence educational) aspirations, and does much to determine his basic relationships to himself, his peers, and his school. Consequently, improvement in the educational support provided by the average inner city family appears to be a sine qua non of "equal educational results." Even in terms of more instrumental, immediate goals, programs oriented toward the improvement of the family environment may often have a much higher cost-effectiveness than alternative programs which attempt to treat the resulting educational deficiencies in the school. An additional expenditure of one hundred dollars per child within the formal school system which could provide up to a 20 percent reduction in class size may be considerably less effective than spending a smaller amount supporting the educational environment in the home with information, techniques, and materials.*

Barriers to Programs

Before they will be effective, such programs must overcome both the lack of information on which to base design and the reluctance of the educational system to become involved in "noneducational matters." Rejection of such programs by parents will likely occur if the school "tells" the parent what is wrong with his child and with the way the parent is educating him. If the potential can first be realized in a few demonstration efforts, these barriers could be greatly diminished.

---

* The form of this study's presentation results in the discussion of programs in a single dimension. This does not correspond to actual programs. As indicated in the structure for policy analysis, Figure 1, actual programs will draw support from several dimensions.

Teacher Effectiveness

General Effect

The teacher's grasp of the goals and content of the course and the manner in which he interacts with his students is the major determinant of the quality of a class's learning experience. Taken in one way this statement is both true and trivial, for a class does not exist without some form of teacher or "learning manager." However, the statement can also be interpreted as asserting that even after the position labeled "teacher" is filled by individuals who pass state and local selection criteria, the course content has been specified, and all other available support for the teacher provided, the variation in the quality of the teacher still produces large variations in the quality of the learning experience of the class. Support for this assertion is largely anecdotal. To date, the problem of specifying criteria against which to assess the quality of the learning experience has not been adequately resolved. The results of studies of teacher effectiveness (which tend to support the assertion), therefore, are not conclusive. At the present level of educational technology in the classroom, however, the statement is virtually self-evident. As more advanced teaching systems using educational television, programmed instruction, and computer aided instruction are introduced, the assertion should remain true, but may no longer be self-evident.

Nature of the Problems

The problem of isolating teacher effects arises because, with minority students in inner city schools, teachers aspirations, expectations, goals and (to a lesser extent) capabilities often operate to inhibit learning. The very students who most need effective teachers are the least liable to obtain them on a comparative basis. It is further aggravated by what is surely low teacher effectiveness compared to their

potential judging from teacher development practices in more school districts. Little or no effort is made to improve the teacher. Minimum evaluation and supervision is given once the teacher has passed the probation period and he is "on tenure." Furthermore, little reward is given the teacher if he improves himself in any other way than taking additional college course work which is reflected in salary scales. Teacher efforts to develop more effective presentations and special techniques for reaching students and involving them in the course are approved of--if they fit within the existing structure--but are not specifically rewarded. For the teacher of minority or ghetto children, there may even be positive rewards for poor performance, such as transfer to an easier assignment in a middle or upper class school.

Requirements for a Solution

More effective teachers for the inner city student must be provided through better selection practices and modification of teachers' performance through improved development programs. It is probably true that under present conditions the existing inservice training programs to improve teacher performance are largely ineffective. The best of the current training programs appear to be some of the special summer institutes, workshops, and training courses which have a content and orientation that would lead one to believe that they could improve teacher performance. However, even anecdotal documentation of their effect is scanty and quantitative follow-up data are even more elusive. The literature on personnel development suggests that attempts to improve the teacher, independent of the system in which he operates, are likely to provide minimum long run benefits.

Operating Programs

School systems must accept responsibility for the lifelong development of its personnel. The present system of staff development is reminiscent of management practices before companies recognized that their staff was their most valuable resource.

A major part of the problem of improving teacher effectiveness lies in the specification of, and means for, measuring effectiveness. Implicit in our discussion is the proposition that the ultimate criterion of teacher effectiveness is in changes in pupil behavior. Teachers may be "effective" when judged by such criteria as "conformance with standards of personal conduct" or "is well-liked by colleagues and administrators" and yet be markedly ineffective when judged by their influence on pupil behavior in inner city schools. All the possible and appropriate criteria by which to judge a teacher's total performance may not be consonant with one another. There is not only a need to sharpen the specification of "effective teacher performance" but to understand, as well, the conflicts that may exist within the specification of expected teacher roles. Efforts are being made continuously to accommodate to individual differences among pupils. Equal effort and recognition must be given as well to the fact that teachers also differ from one another and can be expected to perform differentially in specified situations.

To meet the needs of inner city schools in the short run, school systems need to create special selection programs to recruit the teachers most effective with these classes under existing conditions. Concurrently, programs must be started to modify the reward structures for teachers to encourage more effective performance.

New Programs

Both extrinsic and intrinsic rewards for effectiveness must be created via such techniques as differentiated pay scales and development programs. Careful consideration must be given to the questions of individual versus team training. As a test program, elite cadres of teacher and supporting personnel trained to operate as a team in the removal of an inner city school from the "critical" list should be established.

A rich body of theoretical and empirical research is available to support the development of more effective school organizations and teachers. The literature on executive and middle management development and such formulations as MacGregor's "theory X" and "theory Y" are immediately applicable. Adaptions to meet special circumstances such as tenure will be required but these do not appear to be formidable obstacles.

Potential for Improvement

The development of greater teacher effectiveness is important both in its own right and also for its impact on other programs which are channeled through the school. However, looking only at the direct effect on students in a cost-effectiveness framework, the crucial question becomes the magnitude of change in teacher effectiveness that can be expected. Specifically, if a major effort is mounted to improve teacher performance, what would one expect the magnitude of change in the average learning of students to be? Most of the evidence is indirect. However, based on an analysis in the EPRC working paper by T. C. Thomas entitled, "Expectations, Performance, and Ghetto Teachers," it appears that relatively minor increases in the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for higher performance can result in appreciable gains in student performance. This is particularly true in inner city schools where the teacher's own aspirations and performance expectations for the students are most likely to inhibit effective teaching rather than encourage it. In one study (Rosenthal--Jacobsen 1966), for example, teachers were informed that based upon information from I.Q. tests, 20 percent of their students would surge ahead. The experiment resulted not only in an improvement for those 20 percent who had been randomly selected but also an improvement of 15 I.Q. points in first grade controls and 7 I.Q. points in second grade controls. These gains

apparently were due to enhanced teacher aspirations and expectations for some members of the class accompanied by spillover benefits to the control group.

Barriers to Programs

The institution of new sets of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards and a meaningful teacher development program could change ground rules for both teachers and administrators. In the long run, such changes would be beneficial to both teachers and administrators. In the short run, such changes would certainly require new and unfamiliar modes of operation and consequently represent a threat to many stakeholders. Even if national support by NEA and AFT could be obtained, it might have little effect upon local school systems unless a smooth transition were planned.

For maximum effectiveness, change should be locally initiated. However, most local school systems have not yet accepted the fact that they should face the issue of teacher effectiveness on any level other than that of hiring and tenure policy.

Teaching Techniques and Curriculum

General Effect

Different teaching techniques and curricula alter the students' progress towards educational goals. "New math" and "old math" have different goals and do affect the resultant capabilities of the student. With fixed goals, the modal educational achievements of a class will be affected by the extent to which teaching techniques and curriculum are matched to their learning capabilities. Individual achievement may be more related to the match of teaching techniques and curriculum to the characteristics of the child and his style of learning than to such measures of educational capabilities as I.Q. (see Part 5, "Conceptual Models of the Educational Process").

Nature of the Problems

The particular problem that arises in minority education is that most teaching techniques and curriculum are matched to the modal characteristics of middle-class children which are not the same as the modal characteristics of the minority child. What individualization is available within present teaching techniques and curricula is designed for the range of individual differences common among middle class children. A better match to the characteristics of inner city children is needed.

Requirements for a Solution

Some teaching techniques and curricula aimed at inner city children have been developed. At the program level, some prekindergarten programs and the SMSG Math Program for Culturally Deprived Children are notable. In addition, a number of techniques (audiovisual, programmed instruction, computer aided instruction), approaches (Curriculum of Concerns), and materials (Bank Street Readers, Negro History Books) are available to the teacher.

Operating Programs

The effectiveness of prekindergarten classes is the subject of numerous evaluations but no significant long-run effects of prekindergarten as it is usually operated have yet been identified. Other items are generally either still in the process of being evaluated or cannot be evaluated except against very limited goals.

New Programs

It does not appear that any radically new programs in the area of teaching techniques and curriculum content are needed in light of the wide variety which are presently available or in the process of being developed. However, serious deficiencies appear to remain in the process of matching programs, materials, techniques to the modal characteristics of separate classes and to the needs of individuals within the group. While teachers may vary their approach from class to class, their effort needs to be supported by diagnostic tools keyed to programs which develop an integrated set of tools and content

to match the characteristics of the class. It seems likely that effective matching of these complex variables may require a computer-based system. The prime requirement is for added emphasis to be given to developmental work already in progress.

Potential for Improvement

There is great potential in many of the new teaching techniques and curricula. However, the teacher's ability to use the new material is obviously critical to the entire program. Therefore, actual improvements in education are highly interrelated to steps which are taken to either enhance the performance of the classroom teachers or minimize their effect (as may be possible with educational television, programmed instruction, and computer-aided instruction). This, of course, is not a case of either-or, for one step can support the other.

Barriers to Programs

If teaching techniques and curricula are revised through current inservice education programs, their effectiveness will be greatly reduced. However, the institution of new teaching techniques and curricula as part of an overall plan to change personal training and development practice in the school could be highly effective.

The school systems need help from the educational industry to effectively exploit that which is known and available. However, there is a general lack of enthusiasm on many parts of the educational industry to create materials and programs for other than the modal child of the entire educational system. This can be seen in reading materials, achievement tests, history text books, and so forth. The problem is not discrimination but smaller volumes and lower profit potentials. It may eventually prove necessary for Federal or state governments to provide industry with financial incentives for the development of programs and materials more suited to inner city students.

Quantity of Staff and Physical Resources

General Effect

The physical condition and layout of schools, their equipment, and the teacher-student ratio are some of the determinants of working conditions for teachers and students. In the inner city where the city first grew, many schools are old and outmoded. Densely packed housing creates large student populations which overcrowd the schools and raise class sizes. A number of steps have been taken by cities in recent years to correct these deficiencies though more remains to be done.

Nature of the Problems

Currently the educational needs of inner city residents are no closer--and perhaps further--from being met than ever before. (A number of performance indices, such as years of schooling completed, have improved, but goals have been raised ever faster.) This creates a tension between school and community which is most easily explicated in attacks on the highly visible characteristics of schools such as physical plant, equipment, and number of pupils per teacher or, more recently, on the experience and racial characteristics of teachers and school board members.

Requirements for a Solution

Since both teachers and parents seem to be agreed on the need for more staff and physical resources, it might appear that it is only a matter of time before the problem is solved. The financial resources for these programs will have to be supplied by state and Federal governments, but this has already started to occur. The end results may satisfy teachers' demands for better working conditions, but they are unlikely to satisfy inner city parents who are interested in better education. There is scant empirical evidence that within the range of improvement in staff and facilities that have been tried that a noticeable long-run impact on educational attainments of students occurs.

Operating Programs

A wide range of programs has been tried, many of them financed under Federal funds from Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Such programs include reduced class size, increased counseling, more social work service, and more equipment and materials. Evaluations of these ESEA programs provide a disappointing record of little or no improvement in the academic achievements of students as measured by such criteria as scores on standardized tests. The results of the More Effective Schools Program (MES) in the New York City School System is extremely well documented and provides many insights into the low effectiveness of even the best programs when administrative increases in the quantity of staffs of physical resources is not supported by changes in the educational process.

Potential for Improvement

Additional quantities of staff and physical resources may be needed by elementary and secondary school systems, but not more programs which only increase the quantity of staff and physical resources. Programs in the other dimensions may require an increase in staff and physical resources but the increase would result from the nature of the program and not itself be the program.

New Programs

Some programs envision "massive" improvements in staff and facilities in inner city schools. However, available research data on operating programs is limited to cases of no more than a doubling or a tripling of resources per child. Consequently, it is difficult to predict what would happen if ten times the amount of resources per child were used. If class sizes were dropped from 30 to 3, a teacher presumably would not teach a class of 3 using the techniques developed for a class of 30. This dramatic a change in class size would almost necessarily cause revisions in teaching methods and roles. However, the MES program, which provides a

reduction in class size from 30 to 15 plus an additional teacher for every set of three classes, has not generally had any consistent impact upon teaching techniques.

Barriers to Programs

It is useful to analyze why nearly all the funds available to schools under such programs as ESEA have been used to increase the quantity of staff and physical resources if the effectiveness of these increases is so low. Two main reasons exist. First, programs in other dimensions require more planning since they are not merely "more of the same." They are less able to be implemented quickly when there is a great press to "do something." An increase in the amount of resources available to the school is a much simpler task and can be accomplished more rapidly though even this approach involves considerable planning and time delays. Second, an increase in resources provides a little something to all the stakeholders within the educational family. Plans for more teachers, lower class size, more social workers, and better audiovisual equipment are highly unlikely to create protests from administrators, teachers, and supporting personnel. Only the relative share allocated to different groups will be in dispute. Programs in the other dimensions will often arouse antagonisms or at least suspicions from some stakeholders within the educational community and make their implementation more difficult.

For both these reasons--as well as the conviction on the part of most teachers and administrators that given a little more they can do better--nearly all the additional resources supplied under ESEA funding has gone into increasing staff and physical resources. Unfortunately, now that these funds are "committed" within the schools, future changes in their use may not be institutionally possible for the local school system in the absence of considerable outside pressure.

Employment and Higher Education Opportunities

General Effect

Profitable employment or further educational advancement are the primary extrinsic rewards--and hence a major motivator--for achievement in secondary education. This is particularly so for inner city students who are less likely than suburban students to view education as an end in itself. However, the typical inner city student, who is poor and a member of a minority, may perceive very little relation between his academic effort and his ability to obtain these rewards. As discussed in the section on goals, many other factors may be more important determinants of employment and higher education for a poor minority student than his level of academic achievement. Under these circumstances, the resultant loss of motivational power from these rewards may be critical because there is little else to provide motivation. In view of the importance of motivation on performance, the schools need to be directly concerned with increasing the relationship between rewards and academic performance for inner city students.

Nature of the Problems

Requirements for a Solution

Current Programs

Currently, the public school system has vocational education courses which theoretically meet the needs of students for employable skills. However, the general indication is that participation in vocational education programs does not significantly raise a student's immediate employability or long-run expected income (if the highest grade level attained is held constant). The public school system also provides some counseling service but these are seldom coordinated with the efforts of the employment service or various institutes of higher education in behalf of inner city youth. In summary, the schools do little to actively relate academic achievement to the rewards of employment or further education.

New Programs

In the area of employment, it would be ineffective and unwise for the public school systems--even if so motivated--to develop another separate employment program. In an analysis of the city of Oakland, some 21 separate major programs were found with the goal of improving the employability of inner city residents. Given the proliferation of programs, it appears that the school's proper role should be to seek to integrate all the resources within the community for the student. Later, based on an understanding of what is being done, the school might develop programs of its own to fill unmet needs.

Potential for Improvement

Eventually more basic decisions may be required. Presumably, the school should either meet the needs of the student, or the student should be allowed to fulfill his compulsory attendance requirements with an organization that can meet his needs.

New Programs

Secondary schools are strategically placed to provide greater opportunities for higher education. Minority students--particularly Negroes--face reverse discrimination as many institutions of higher education are actively searching for qualified minority students. Some institutions even take "unqualified" students and attempt to qualify them in one summer of intensive effort. A college preparatory program for minorities in the senior high school, developed in conjunction with local colleges and universities, could be highly effective in motivating minority students to academic achievement. Ample provision should be made for students to participate on a "second chance" basis. Achievement in the program should constitute the admission criteria for the college. Funds from the college, private groups, and the public school should be developed to ensure that the successful student can attend college without financial restrictions. An expenditure of public school funds to support minority youths in college could be one of the most effective ways of increasing their secondary school achievement.

Potential for Improvement

Barriers to Programs

These programs would expand the role of the schools in the total education of the inner city student. If the programs were slowly phased in, the change should provoke minimum controversy outside the school system except perhaps the providing of college financing for some students. However, even here the use of earmarked Federal or state funds by the district and economic, rather than racial, criteria for program participation could meet most of the local objections. Outside funds could also provide the inducement for school districts to provide such programs, although the quality of programs developed in response to funds available rather than to felt needs are always in doubt.

Relationship to Society

Effect on Education

A child's relationship to society is a natural extension of his relationship to his family. Nevertheless, it is useful to dichotomize the child's relationship to others into family relationships based on who he is and societal relationships based on what he is. The first is personal, the second less so. Society examines the child's visible characteristics and confers status accordingly. However, society is not monolithic and not all groups within the society place a premium on the same characteristics. Some choose the parents' income, or the child's I.Q., or how he handles himself when he is "up tight."

When the child's relationships start to extend beyond his local neighborhood, he finds that he is characterized more as a member of a group than as an individual. His status is referred to formally as his socio-economic status and it defines much of what is expected of him in intergroup situations. For the individual, it is unimportant whether the performance expected of him based on his socio-economic status is an accurate picture of

underlying subcultural group characteristics or merely a self-fulfilling prophecy. The result is the same--his natural deviancy from the norm is restricted by the actions of both members of his status group and other status groups. This general picture is suggested by numerous theoretical and empirical studies.

Nature of the Problems

Educational problems arise when the socio-economic stereotype is not supportive of educational achievement, for it then serves to inhibit the academic achievement of the more capable members of the group. This is the situation for the lowest socio-economic stratum in our society. Moreover, the situation is self-perpetuating over generations because the expected academic achievement tends to be consistent with remaining at that status level in adulthood.

Requirements for a Solution

The child's initial status is that of his parents, but individuals are mobile and can change their socio-economic level. If the student aspires strongly to a different socio-economic level, he will take his educational goals from it and attempt to behave accordingly. However, there will be pressure upon him to behave according to the level which he presently occupies and consequently only the exceptional few, and not the average many, can change their socio-economic level by "their own efforts."* A general solution to poverty will require that the characteristics of the socio-economic level itself be modified.

---

* The degree of difficulty in changing socio-economic level is dependent upon the number of categories used to describe socio-economic status. It is obviously harder to change levels in a three level system of upper, middle, and lower class than in a nine level system in which each of the three levels is also subdivided into upper, middle and lower.

Poverty has been characterized by the presence of all four of the following characteristics:

1. Inadequate income, assets, and basic services
2. Inadequate opportunities for social mobility
3. Low self-respect, social honor, and status
4. Low participation in decision making, low confidence in one's ability to affect events and environment in desired directions, and a sense of powerlessness and defeat.

Operating Programs

A number of attempts have been made to "improve" the characteristics of the poor. Charity and the poorhouse have a long history. Programs based on the concept of the "deserving poor" have culminated in our present set of welfare laws and social services. These programs can hardly be called an attempt to modify the characteristics of poverty. Their principal intent was to aid individuals in changing their socio-economic position. They are currently in disrepute as an effective means of achieving even this objective.

Community action programs operate primarily on the third and fourth characteristics of poverty--low self-respect and sense of powerlessness--by attempting to organize the poor. These programs have met with only limited success--which is nevertheless an important achievement--and have run into political difficulties due in a large measure to the successes that they have had.

New Programs and Potential for Improvement

The model cities program is the current attempt to improve "life" in the cities, particularly for the poor of the inner city. A sub-project of this EPRC task is devoted to an analysis of the model city program, both as it is and as it could be. This sub-task is not completed but at present it appears that neither the focus of the program (which is quite blurred) nor the level of

resources available in the current program give strong promise of substantial change in any of the characteristics of inner city poverty.

Proposals for a guaranteed annual income or a negative income tax directly attack the problem of inadequate income. However, it is unlikely that the level of guaranteed income would be adequate to greatly alter the "style of life" of persons in poverty unless it were coupled with an expanded community action program directed at the other characteristics of poverty.

Other, more radical, programs would attempt to redefine poverty by restructuring the social system. It is doubtful that revolutionary approaches will succeed but they could result in beneficial evolutionary changes or an upgrading of other programs.

Barriers to Programs

The potential for eliminating poverty depends rather critically on the definition of poverty. Since it is a truism that poverty is relative, one might conclude that "the poor will always be with us." However, in the long run, as society progresses towards a post-economic stage, low socio-economic status may lose at least its most blatant material characteristics. In the short run, more effective programs need to be developed to eliminate racial prejudice as a cause of poverty and to further reduce poverty's sting for all. Progress in these areas will require national and local leadership for the barriers are formidable.